554 Only occasionally do his monetary aspirations appear openly to conflict with customarily defined Orokaiva behaviour. Two such cases may be instanced.

432 While the practice of 'marketing' pigmeat is becoming increasingly common among the inland Orokaiva, initially to 'strangers' by hawking around villages or selling it at Safho market, it is also beginning to operate among kinsmen at the intra-village level. 'Marketing' normally follows the unpremeditated killing of a pig, as in the case of one having broken into a garden. Two cases occurred in Sivepe during the year, one organised by the village councillor and the other involving a pig of Linton's. While Linton shot the pig himself and decided to 'market', at the last moment he left the village and another member of Timumu clan cut it up and sold it, giving all the proceeds to Linton's mother.

[431] In a third case Linton had decided to distribute the legs as hande[1] but market the body. Again at the last moment he changed his mind and made hande with all the meat.

• 472 224 Linton faced a similar conflict between custom and cash in his hunting activities. As the owner of a shotgun he did a great deal of hunting, particularly in the dry season, formulating a business arrangement with non-kinsmen from other villages whereby he would hunt on their behalf if they provided the cartridges and a cash payment of 10c with each

[571] cartridge. In return he guaranteed a flying fox for each cartridge. By such a restriction of entrepreneurial activities to people outside the 'sympathy group'[2] an effective compromise is achieved between customary values and commercial aspirations, and individual security founded on reciprocal exchange among kindred is not impaired.

554 Linton's status in the community, and the diversity of his interests and loyalties, is manifested by his being the most active person in the sample.[3] With a mean activity week of 52.9 hours he distributes his efforts throughout the range of activities (with the exception of household and sickness which are predominantly the concern of women) leaving little time for informal socialising.

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1 Hande: a prestation where subsequent reciprocation is expected.

2 i.e. the group 'to which the individual feels he owes allegiance; he gives them his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality' (Williams 1930:310). For a lengthy discussion of the concept see Williams 1930:308-35. See also Lawrence's discussion (1967:101-5) of the 'security circle', an analogous concept.

3 With the exception of the girl in full-time employment at Sasembata clinic.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

461 infant children, partly because he suffered from a leg ulcer for some weeks, but also
512 partly because of the social aspect of such visits.

In all, productive tasks account for 32 hours, or 65 per cent of the total for the week, and two-thirds of this amount is spent in activities in the subsistence sector. Of the weekly total of 49.5 hours, 11.3 hours or 23 per cent are related to the monetary sector and external agencies such as the mission.

472 Lawrence. Aged 36, Lawrence is the leading man and entrepreneur. He is married
159 and has four children, the eldest being a boy of twelve. Although he only reached standard IV at the mission school, he became a mission teacher and spent four of his five and a half years in this occupation in New Britain. He subsequently spent periods while resident in the village as a labourer and carpenter's assistant and served for two years as elected local government councillor for the villages of Inonda, Hohota, Mosou, Ajoro and Sewa. Lawrence acquired 230 coffee trees from his classificatory father and has rights to over 100 mature coconut palms. In 1963 he opened the trade store in the village. In November 1964 he had a total cultivated area of 1.23 acres, of which 0.9 acres were under taro. Unlike most other households, he has no sweet potato garden and only a token number of yam vines, cultivating banana, corn and Xanthosoma instead as subsidiary crops.[1] His household has a lower area of food garden per member than all but one other household and he spends less time in subsistence gardening than all the six selected individuals apart from Hemba.[2] Like most household heads, he is rarely absent from the village. During the survey he spent two days at a feast which almost everyone in the village attended, two days visiting his wife's father in hospital, two in Port Moresby with the researchers, one on work for the Administration during the national elections and one caring for his sick daughter. In addition, he was inactive through sickness - mainly influenza - for nine days.

Through a combination of several factors, including his position as senior resident member of the Andiriha clan, and the knowledge and experience gained during his periods as teacher and councillor, Lawrence is developing his entrepreneurial skills towards the

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1 The same pattern was evident for this household in 1962 (G. Hogbin: personal communication).

2 However, Lawrence's household is above average in terms of cultivated area per able-bodied person.

472 achievement of several ambitions, including the acquisition of a carpenter-built house. He spends more time on cash-producing activities than any other villager and is the recognised spokesman in all village-level contacts with the external agencies. Through his experience he was able to win and fulfil the construction contract at the airstrip, as well as arranging for the sale of hardwood trees to the Administration, which others could, but did not do. Half of the time spent on entrepreneurial activities is on the trade store and the rest mainly on the contract. As will be shown in Chapter 12, these activities are more rewarding than cash cropping, and the entrepreneur spends less than 0.5 hours a week on his coffee holding and 1.0 hour a week on copra. Paid work and the other main source of cash, marketing, account for only 1 hour a week. Altogether, involvement with the monetary sector and external agencies occupies about 19 hours a week, or 37 per cent of the total - a higher proportion than for any other villager.

[512] [461]

461 The most time-consuming activity after entrepreneurial activities is hunting, although prior to his purchase of a shotgun in July Lawrence spent very little time this way. This and other food-producing activities occupy as much time as paid work and entrepreneurial activities and double the amount spent on subsistence gardening. Productive activities in both sectors account for almost 42 hours, 80 per cent of the weekly total.

It is clear that for the entrepreneur cash-producing activities have the highest priority once subsistence is assured. In this connection, it is noteworthy that during the dry season, the intensive labour by all the men on construction of the copra-drier took precedence over other activities, but when a pig invaded his garden Lawrence spent two days in fencing and only then resumed construction of the drier.

512 [527] Marjorie. This woman is aged 21 and is married to Embogi's eldest son, who began establishing a coffee garden during the survey. They have one son, and held a party to mark his first birthday in March. Marjorie was born in Hohorita village, as were four other Inonda residents, and she was educated to standard V. Her father's brother is a teacher at Popondetta mission school, where several other relatives also work and she spent a considerable amount of time visiting these and other kin, usually taking gifts of garden produce and receiving in return storebought foods and cash. In addition to the average 2.7 hours a week spent in this way, she was absent for 13 days on visits and for another 6 days on mourning and funeral obligations when her father and her husband's mother's brother died within a week of each other. Her frequent visits and gifts to her kin were

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 164]

444 it was not only the closest store for some 100 people, but it was also regularly patronised by passers-by and labourers on the main road.[1] For this reason, during the first 13 weeks of the survey sales averaged $10.70 a week, but over the whole period, from February 1964 to January 1965, the average was only $4.20.

472 434 The head of household 23 engaged in a number of other profitable entrepreneurial activities during the survey and the income from these is included in Table 11:13. He received $42 for organising the construction of the researchers' house; this sum was immediately used in the purchase of a shotgun. During period III, the same man organised a labour gang of fellow villagers to construct a shelter at the airstrip on contract from the Administration. For this, he received $72, of which he paid $36 to the other six men. At other times during the year, he received $20 for hardwood trees sold to the Administration, $4 for interpreting at polling booths during the House of Assembly elections and $10 from the Electricity Commission for locating steel pipes and oxy-acetylene cylinders abandoned in the grasslands after the war. (Two other men found and carried the pipes to the road at the entrepreneur's suggestion. They received $3 each and he received $8!) In addition to these sources not open to people with less experience and self-confidence, the same man acquired significant sums from sales of meat, coffee and copra and from gambling. Two fellow villagers gave $2 each and another gave coffee worth $3.32 as contributions towards the purchase of his shotgun. The wife's contribution to the household income was comparatively small at $6.90, of which $4 comprised remittances from kinsmen in Port Moresby.

511 About 62 per cent of this household's expenditure was in retail purchases from trade stores - one-third of this figure being represented by the shotgun and the rest mostly by food and clothing. The bulk of the other expenditure was in payments to the villagers who formed the labour gang. Eight dollars was spent on gun and trading licences and $2 on a fine for taking sago leaves without the owner's permission. Only about $12 (5 per cent) was disposed of in gifts to relatives. Overall, income exceeded expenditure by only $5.04, more than $3 below the village mean.

434 Household 24 has the greatest excess of income over expenditure with $56.54. Its gross income was $76.90, of which $32 were remittances from kin working outside the district, $10 was a teacher's pension from the Anglican mission and $10 was a belated payment from the Administration as a share of rice sales by Hohorita village co-operative society in 1949 and 1950. Seventy per cent of the household's expenditure was in trade stores and almost 10 per cent was in casual purchases from hawkers. The surplus cash was not

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[1] See p.61.

Four Orokaiva cash croppers

R.G. Crocombe

121 The four entrepreneurs dealt with in this paper have established themselves by cash-cropping and have subsequently expanded into retail trading. These brief case studies seek to identify some of the factors which may facilitate the emergence of entrepreneurs and some of the inhibiting factors that restrict their success and future development. Where applicable, comparisons are made with villagers of two Orokaiva villages previously studied: Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963) and Sivepe (Rimoldi 1966).

Introduction

438 Before European contact there was some trading in ornaments, lime, pottery and woodenware among the Orokaiva, but nobody subsisted exclusively or even principally from their production or marketing. With the advent of Europeans the Orokaiva became 177 familiar with the full-time entrepreneur who earned his living by 472 selling wares produced by others, by providing services such as 438 transport or the recruiting of labour, or by producing cash crops using hired labour. There are few Europeans in private enterprise in the area who do not engage in all three classes of enterprise.

The advent of the entrepreneur resulted in significant changes in the Orokaiva way of life. New goods were made available and opportunities for paid employment were created. During the past 422 two generations most Orokaiva men have had some direct contact 438 with commercial enterprise, both as customers and as employees, but until recently few have had the capital or training to engage in the entrepreneurial roles themselves.

Entrepreneurial activity (using the term to include trading and any regular income-earning activity which involves the employment of persons outside one's nuclear family) is a recent phenomenon among the Orokaiva.

101 Field work for this study was carried out in spare time during 114 1962-65, as a sideline to other studies, by the writer, assisted by Mr Cromwell Burau and Mr Edric Eupu. Information was collected 126 on land and food gardens, cash crops, trading, processing, transport, other property, income, work patterns and community leadership.

125 The sample is necessarily small, and not representative, as there were at the time only three Orokaiva entrepreneurs who had established enterprises of any size without government help. The fourth entrepreneur differs from the others in that he established himself only after obtaining a resettlement block and a government loan.

●492 The first indigenous entrepreneur known to engage full time in cash-cropping and trading in the Orokaiva area was Raymond Ogerem who was not himself an Orokaiva man. He was born about 1910 in Bako village near Tarakwaruru (on the coast between Samarai and Cape Killerton) where his father was leader of Kavamasia clan. After only a few months schooling he went to work in Bunting and Company's trade store at Samarai and later at Tufi, Buna and Misima Island; about 1939 he took over a store at Esahambo, about ten miles from Popondetta. Adjacent to the store he acquired a lease of 100 acres of land from the government. Using hired labour he planted eight acres of coffee and about 200 rubber trees before the Japanese invasion in 1942. Though Raymond returned to Esahambo [443] after the invasion was repulsed, he did not remain long before returning to Tarakwaruru where about 1952 he was instrumental in starting a community trade store. He has not returned to the Orokaiva area since then. Raymond is still remembered by almost all the older Orokaiva men, and is described by them as a generous man who they admired for his ability to run a business which up to that time they had thought was the exclusive prerogative of Europeans.

Personal experience of the entrepreneurs

The entrepreneurs A, B and C were eldest sons (and the fathers of at least two were also eldest children). This may be significant as these three have been assisted in the development of their cash crop enterprises by younger brothers who do not require immediate cash payment. The fourth (D) was a youngest son but he did not undertake cash-cropping until he received a government loan.

The two older entrepreneurs, A and B, had no schooling, the younger two had limited elementary schooling. Formal education is [871] largely a function of age for schools have spread only slowly throughout the countryside. It is relevant that all four come from the less populous coastal area where contact has been longest, and none from the more populous inland.

[484] All four entrepreneurs have travelled much more widely than the average person of the district and since adolescence they have all lived mostly outside their village communities.[1] On their return

[1] They have all worked in other districts of Papua-New Guinea, while D has travelled to Australia, and in 1953 attended the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in London.

472 to the Northern District none has lived within a village community in the way almost all Orokaiva live today. Their houses are built on their farms adjacent to their cash crops rather than in a village. The farms of A and B are within half a mile of their villages but C's farm is two miles away, while D, occupying a resettlement block, is nearly a hundred miles from his home village. (There were no resettlement schemes closer at the time.) The first three men were joined in their new houses by relatives, in addition to their own nuclear families, who lived with, or adjacent to, them and assisted in the cash-cropping.

472 464 The four entrepreneurs had engaged in paid work for periods ranging from twelve to twenty-five years, with an average of seventeen. This is considerably longer than the average for village Orokaiva,[1] and the entrepreneurs have each been engaged in a much wider range of occupations than ordinary villagers.

472 The work experience of one of the successful entrepreneurs, B, had been mainly in cash-cropping activities, but the other three had had little such experience and none of them had any experience or training in retail trading. On the other hand, all four had [466] [463] held posts involving considerable responsibility over people and property.[2]

472 554 153 A factor which can only be a matter of conjecture at this stage, is that all four men appear to have drawn on the example of specific persons as models for their actions. Their aspirations to higher consumption standards, better housing, motor vehicles, education for their children, etc., appear to be very similar to those of the village Orokaiva people with whom I have worked. The main difference seems to be that most village people regard these goals as largely unattainable by methods at present open to them and are still seeking a clearer 'way' or 'road' to prosperity, whereas the four entrepreneurs have seen their goals as attainable by drawing on the models known to them from personal experience.[3] This is not to suggest that they have clear-cut or well formulated plans for development, nor that they are familiar with the economics of

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[1] Household heads at Inonda had spent an average of ten years in paid employment (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:59) and at Sivepe six and a half years (Rimoldi 1966:82).

[2] Their positions have included cook, labour recruiter, charge over food and equipment stores, foreman of plantations, of a coffee factory and of an oil exploration team, and police sergeant.

[3] In all four cases the models were European, but in the case of [197] Numbuk of Erap (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963a:1) the model was a successful New Guinean entrepreneur.

472 554 153 marketing or the more intricate techniques of production. It does suggest, however, that they have a sufficiently clear conception of the way to achieve the goal (and the way is more important than the goal itself) to enable them to organise and to act. It is apparent that the entrepreneurs studied were highly motivated.[1]

Land and food gardens

241 423 [428] [472] Most Orokaiva men established their cash crops on customary land to which they have acquired rights by inheritance from their fathers. None of the entrepreneurs did so, though all claim that they could have done had they wished but deliberately chose not to. Each stated that the reason was to avoid claims by kin to their land, produce or income.

241 423 472 A had cleared bush land and planted coffee at Garara where his close kin had been permitted to resettle in the late 1920s. Though the host clan did not mind the newcomers planting food crops they objected to cash crops and forced him to abandon it. About 1930 the newcomers purchased about 2,000 acres of virgin bush land at Kapurahambo from the clans of Soputa. The transfer was accompanied by a series of feasts and dances and the distribution of traditional valuables. The land was divided among the buying group, A and his two brothers being allocated an area of eighty-one acres on which they have since planted cocoa and coffee. A has applied for registration of his land under the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance 1963. [656]

B claims he had extensive customary land available to him and this is confirmed by other villagers. But for his cash crops (coffee and cocoa) he chose to clear an area of unoccupied bush land which had formerly been owned by a small group which had been decimated and the survivors scattered decades before. B thought he would acquire exclusive rights to the area he cleared (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:72-3). He subsequently improved the security of his title by registering this land under the Higaturu Council land registration scheme, a transitional scheme, now superseded. He has since applied for registration under the 1963 legislation. [656]

C has rights to hundreds of acres of customary lands. For his cash-cropping, however, he chose to use two adjacent blocks of a total of 106 acres which had been purchased by the government for European settlement in the 1920s for 54 pounds of tobacco, one tomahawk and one knife. The European lessor planted coconuts but abandoned the property before the second world war. Though legally [432]

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[1] A better understanding of this aspect will be achieved by research to be undertaken in 1967 by Ruth Finney of the University of California.

241 it reverted to the Crown, C, as grandson of the main original
423 vendor, regarded himself as having a right in the abandoned pro-
472 perty. After some years of negotiating he now has a ninety-nine
[427] year lease at an annual rental of $7.95. Here he has planted cocoa and coconut trees.

At any time during his twenty years' employment D could have returned to his home area and planted cash crops on the ample family lands there. It was only when the opportunity arose of a [654] resettlement block with a development loan of $1,500 that he [426] decided to undertake cash-cropping; he has now planted over 3,000 cocoa trees.

472 Few Orokaiva are short of land in the area east of Popondetta
423 where the entrepreneurs are located. Land availability is not a factor differentiating entrepreneurs from villagers, but the availability of land other than that held under customary tenure may well be.

241 The entrepreneurs appear to be more efficient food gardeners
472 than many Orokaiva, for even though they average less time garden-
184 ing (see Table 6)[A] they have more extensive gardens, as shown in the following table.

Table 1

Area of land under cultivation for food gardens
(acres)

	Per head of population	Per able-bodied person over 16	Per household
A's hamlet*	-	-	1.45
B's household	1.20	1.20	3.61
C's household	0.67	2.36	4.72
D's household**	0.75	1.50	3.00
Average	0.65	1.26	3.19
Average for Inonda and Sivepe***	0.34	0.69	1.48

* Measured for the six household heads in A's hamlet in December 1965 at the end of a long drought. They estimated their normal garden area to be nearly double this. A lives in a hamlet comprising himself, his brothers and some of his married children. [592] The hamlet is a short distance from the village of Kapurahambo.

** Estimated, not measured.

*** From Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:10, and Rimoldi 1966:19. Inonda is a village on the sparsely settled plain, Sivepe village is located in the more fertile hilly country where population is denser. They were chosen as apparently representative of the two major ecological zones inhabited by the Orokaiva. All four [361] entrepreneurs live in the former, plain zone.

A. [Table 6 appears in Category 461, p.19--Analyst]

Cash crops

All four entrepreneurs were familiar with the very small scale cash-cropping which had been undertaken in their villages for many years, but because of the insignificant returns received from activity of this kind they wanted to avoid it. In discussions with the writer, they all referred frequently to their aim to plant on a large scale and to operate their plantations the way European planters did. The main differences were that the entrepreneurs were without capital and that they were prepared, at least until the enterprise was established, to undertake manual labour themselves.

The entrepreneurs A, B and C established their enterprises with the help of their wives and of certain close junior kinsmen. Each has occasionally hired labour, but none has been able to keep the workers for more than a few months (though one man worked for A for three years). The crops grown (coffee, cocoa and copra) are all labour intensive. Moreover, A and B had to clear heavy forest and C heavy undergrowth. A was helped by two younger brothers and in more recent years by two sons and a son-in-law. B has had the full-time labour throughout of his younger bachelor brother who lives as a member of B's household. C was able to enlist casual aid from his two younger brothers in the early establishment phase (and to a lesser extent from his father and his sister's son for food gardening). It is perhaps significant that none of them has called on more distant kinsmen, and none has called on unrelated people of the same village or neighbourhood. The reasons they gave, when questioned, were that the local people were lazy or resentful of their relative prosperity and, in the case of kinsmen, that they might expect disproportionate or inappropriate reciprocity.

B entered into an agreement with four men of two villages a few miles from his own whereby they all helped each other clear separate coffee plots in 1952. As B's was much larger than the others he agreed to provide a small manual coffee pulping machine which all four could use. There was some dissatisfaction by those with small plots with the proportionate benefits derived from the mutual help arrangement, and when B established his cocoa plot in 1959 only he and his brother worked on it.

What rights do the close kin acquire in the crops they have helped to establish? Orokaiva people frequently assist one another to clear land for gardens and this involves no obligation beyond reciprocal help. But planting, husbandry and harvesting were traditionally done by the household and were thus closely associated with rights to the crop. A's enterprise began as a joint venture with his brothers, though the initiative was provided by A. It was not until after World War II that he encouraged and assisted each of his brothers to plant their own individual coffee gardens. A's gardens were then to be for himself and his sons jointly.

241 Later again, in line with an agricultural officer's recommendation,
422 he encouraged each son to plant individually. He proposes that his
592 gardens should be inherited by his sons jointly, with work and
423 profits being shared by them.

428 B's bachelor brother speaks of the cash crops as B's even though both have worked on them equally together, but says that B 'looks after' financial and other matters on his behalf. Whichever of them dies first the other will inherit, but when both die the assets will be inherited by B's only surviving son, a former teacher who shares no interest in cash-cropping.

C claims sole rights to his plantation on the ground that he has compensated his brothers for their help with gifts and by assisting them to establish their own cash crops. There is reason to believe, however, that if C dies before his children are adult, his brothers will probably claim a share. Some other people of [578] C's village regard the plantation as belonging to several sub-clans jointly and their challenge to his rights was a real threat until he was issued a formal lease.

422 D has no younger brothers, but he did have a government loan
24 (though it was not intended for hiring labour). With the loan
464 and gross profits from his store (see p.11 ff.) he has hired a
[654] total of seven workers at various times. As with the labour occasionally hired by the other entrepreneurs, they have all left within a few months of engagement. The employers give no adequate explanation for this and, as I have been unable to contact the former employees, the reasons can only be postulated. In some cases the employer has had insufficient money to pay them but this has not always been the case. Almost all employees have come from twenty to a hundred miles away and most are from different language and culture groups from the employing entrepreneurs. This may well [466] be due to the fact that the employer-employee relationship, with [571] its clear-cut subordination, has no traditional precedent and is incompatible with Orokaiva notions of appropriate interpersonal relationships. New relationships of this kind are probably easier to establish with strangers and outside one's own community.

Since his attempts to engage permanent paid labour were not [621] successful, in recent years A has frequently arranged for the [602] people within his hamlet (his children, his brothers and their children, two father's brother's sons and all their spouses) to undertake short-term tasks such as clearing or harvesting. At the end of each task he compensates them in cash or store goods. None of the others has developed this sort of arrangement.

422 The entrepreneurs have all benefited from assistance given by
654 government officers. Before the war A marketed his coffee through the government and he speaks of the Resident Magistrate assisting him to import and install a coffee machine and open a bank account.

Agricultural extension services were begun about 1950. A, B and D had close relations with particular officers and received significant help from them.

The number of cash crop trees owned by the entrepreneurs in December 1965 is shown in Table 2, together with the number of years since that person began cash-cropping. An attempt was made to estimate the number of adult male kin and the number of employees who have worked with each entrepreneur in terms of man-years, but this was unsuccessful because the people have no clear measure of the periods of time spent by each worker with the employer. Even when the period is reasonably accurately known it is difficult to use comparatively, for relatives who assist do so only from time to time and even employees were often not paid a regular wage nor expected to work all the time.

Table 2

Commercial trees owned by entrepreneurs in December 1965

Entrepreneur	Years since cash-cropping began	Coffee trees	Cocoa trees	Coconut trees	Total trees	Acres*
A	20**	4,400	3,500	-	7,900	22.9
B	14	2,512	1,153	-	3,665	9.6
C	13	-	717	340***	1,057	8.5
D	5	-	3,337	-	3,337	13.3

* Estimated from tree figures using conversion ratios of: 500 coffee trees per acre; 250 cocoa trees per acre; 60 coconut trees per acre.

** As most of A's pre-war trees were destroyed during the war, only his post-war cash cropping experience is considered here.

*** Most of these are old coconuts which were growing before C took over.

There may be a slight relationship between number of trees and the period since cash-cropping began, but I suspect there is a greater correlation between extent of cash crops and the supplementary labour used, whether mainly from kin in the case of A, B and C, or by using loan funds as in D's case.

Retail trading, manufacturing, processing and transport

All four entrepreneurs own stores. A and B aspired to own trade stores for many years but did not establish them until they had literate sons to act as managers. The other two entrepreneurs are themselves literate. An illiterate employee operates C's store but

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441 C visits every few days and counts cash, takes stock and places
212 orders for supplies. D. manages his own store.

[592] Illiterate store owners are entirely at the mercy of their managers and it is for this reason that A and B have preferred to entrust the work to their sons, though this policy has not always been successful. As a result of management problems in A's store, management was transferred, with apparent success, to another son, but as B has only one son he feels he has no alternative but to persevere with him. C, being literate, can provide a sufficient check on his illiterate manager at least partly because the latter assumes that literacy gives the owner greater knowledge than it does. C formerly had a literate manager who falsified the records, but says the illiterate man has proved completely reliable since he began five years ago.

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[431
[452 All the stores have been closed from time to time owing to inadequacy of money to buy stocks. This has been due to the too liberal granting of credit,[1] personal use of store stock by the owner or manager, and the use of gross store income for other purposes.

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434 All the entrepreneurs feel that trade stores provide more money for less effort than cash-cropping. For all except C this has not been the case in practice. In fact, it is likely that A and B have made little or no net profit on their total trading operations since their inception. They are aware of this, but feel that it has been due to difficulties which they now understand and which are therefore less likely to occur in future. For three of the four this is probably true, but all except C appear to expect higher future income from trading than is likely to eventuate. The stores are very small, turnover for the year 1965 averaging $956.[2] They buy their goods at a discount (inappropriately called 'wholesale') from European and Chinese retailers in Popondetta. Their turnover is too small and their knowledge of commerce too limited to enable them to buy wholesale from outside the district. Mark-up on goods has varied from nothing to 30 per cent and for a long time one of them was retailing at the nearest 10 cents above

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[1] Although they say they have a policy of not giving credit, all four have lost money from giving credit in the past. Three of
[626] the four find social pressures such that they continue to grant limited credit to close friends and close kin. In December 1965, A had about $60 unpaid credit outstanding, some of it of several months' duration; and two others had smaller amounts outstanding.

[2] Store turnover for the year for the four entrepreneurs was estimated from available records at $912, $500, $1,992 and $420 respectively.

the price at which he bought (e.g. a knife bought at 87 cents would be sold at 90 cents).[1]

Irrespective of profits, stores are both a convenience and a source of considerable prestige to the owner.

No records of customers were kept, but from casual observation it appears that customers are either persons who are unrelated and not resident in the same locality or close kin and close friends. The more distant relatives and the residents in the owner's village often go to considerable trouble not to buy from the local entrepreneurs. They justify their avoidance with stories which depict the trader in a personally unfavourable light, though some point to the lower prices and wider range of goods in Popondetta, and others to the advantage of buying from local co-operatives which provide rebates and benefit everyone, rather than from private stores with higher prices and individual profit.

These arguments should apply equally to the customers of the entrepreneurs, but they do not seem to in practice. I assume that this is due to the fact that the entrepreneurs do provide credit, assistance with life crises and other advantages (including the attraction of close association with men of prestige) to very close friends and kin, but decline to provide these privileges to more distant kin and neighbours. These people feel entitled to special consideration and are affronted by refusal. C, the trader with the largest turnover, built his store in a village other than his own[2] and most customers come from that and three neighbouring villages. Most people of his own village of Hanau buy from a co-operative store further away. A's main clients are plantation workers, as most of his fellow villagers use the co-operative even though it involves a long walk. D's store was located on a main road until a re-routing of the road left him without his main source of clients - people walking along the road.

Since 1964, D has been buying cotton piece goods which his wife makes up on her sewing machine into skirts, dresses and shorts for sale in the store. Demand for these goods is greater than the supply and a girl is now hired part-time to assist with sewing.

A, B and D sell small quantities of garden produce or hunted meat at irregular intervals at the Popondetta market.

A undertakes commercial processing for other persons, having established a cocoa fermentary with the help of agricultural officers in 1962. The building cost $500 from his savings and an

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[1] Having limited experience in handling money most of the entrepreneurs round prices to the nearest ten cents as far as possible.

[2] The other three all have their stores adjacent to their homes.

informal 'company' was formed to operate the enterprise. There were sixteen shareholders, all residents of A's hamlet or the absent sons of residents. A contributed $144 in cash while the others contributed $10 each. This money is used as working capital and placed in a Cocoa Account at the savings bank. It is controlled by A's eldest son, who is referred to as chairman of the company and is generally responsible for the handling and marketing of produce.

Wet cocoa beans were bought from villagers from moneys in the Cocoa Account at 3 cents per pound and fermented and dried. They were shipped through a local trading firm and sold on the London market. The fermentary has not been very successful because most villagers outside A's hamlet sold to a European fermentary which collected the beans and paid a higher price. Another, and perhaps more important, reason that the local fermentary was not patronised lay in tensions and divided loyalties within the neighbouring villages. From early 1962 until May 1963 only 7,080 pounds of wet cocoa beans were processed using the temporary fermentary. No later figures are available but the credit balance in the Cocoa Account rose from $174.07 in June 1963 to $470 in January 1966.

All four entrepreneurs aspire to owning a motor vehicle. A's early attempts were declined by officials,[1] and his attempt to establish a bus service in 1963 (for which he had sufficient finance) was thwarted when the only licence was granted to an expatriate. He still gives top priority to buying a vehicle for his own cartage and for hire. B had the funds but not the driving skill.

The difficulty of acquiring a skill such as driving is often overlooked. For a person in a rural area it is usually necessary to go to a town and get a job. Even then one may spend several years in an unskilled job without getting the opportunity to learn to drive. Few Papuans have vehicles and most people are naturally reluctant to allow others to practise on their vehicles. B's son has now tried unsuccessfully for three years to find an opportunity to learn to drive. C and D have each been seeking a cheap second-hand vehicle for some time, but the likelihood of establishing a successful carrying business is doubtful, for overheads are high, business would probably be irregular and many of the potential customers would have difficulty in paying. In the long term, as incomes rise, there will certainly be openings for such ventures. In the meantime, however, there is a danger that a transport business would survive only if it was subsidised in part at least from

[1] Official approval was then necessary for indigenous people to go into debt.

income derived from cash-cropping and trading. Prestige may be an even more important motivation to the acquisition of vehicles than it is with trade stores.

Other property

As shown in Table 3 the entrepreneurs have tools to the average replacement value of $30 and equipment associated with their cash-cropping to an average replacement value of $180 - an average of $210 per man. By comparison Orokaiva people of Inonda village had only about $13 and Sivepe village about $18 worth of tools and equipment per household.[1]

The entrepreneurs all had a range of consumers durable goods far beyond that found in villages. A and B owned bicycles worth about $50 each, A and D each had a radio which cost $60 and $47 respectively, and A and D also each owned wood-burning stoves costing about $70 each. The wife of C had a sewing machine which cost $70 (not listed in the table of tools and equipment as it is used only for domestic purposes). All had kerosene lamps and three of the four had clocks or watches. The average replacement value of the above items was in the region of $125 per man. It is estimated that possessions of this kind in Orokaiva villages in which we worked would average about $10 per householder.

The houses of the entrepreneurs are all somewhat larger than the average village house, and for many years B maintained two homes - one in his coffee garden and one in the cocoa garden. D's home is much more elaborate than the others and contains crockery, cutlery and kitchen utensils worth over $50 as well as beds, chairs, tables and curtains which are almost never found among villagers. A has a modern cocoa fermentary worth $500, B has a coffee drying store and trays, estimated worth $80, and C a copra drier worth about $100.

By comparison with other Orokaiva people the entrepreneurs have few livestock, at least partly because they damage the root systems of the coffee and cocoa trees. A, B and C had none at all and D kept thirteen fowls from which he hopes to breed for commercial egg and poultry production. Householders at Inonda and Sivepe, by contrast, kept an average of two pigs and two to three fowls each.

At the request of the entrepreneurs, details of their individual holdings of cash are not included in this paper and can only be made available to researchers or to others with the permission of the entrepreneurs. All four have savings accounts, the average

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 16]

[1] Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:44-5, Rimoldi 1966:25. Other comparisons in this section are drawn from the same sources.

Table 3

Replacement value of tools and equipment owned by entrepreneurs*

	A		B		C		D	
	No.	Value $	No.	Value $	No.	Value $	No.	Value $
Tools								
Axes	2	3.35	2	3.90	3	5.85	2	5.00
Bush knives	5	7.25	3	4.35	5	7.40	2	2.40
Grass knives	5	1.25	4	1.00	3	0.75	-	-
Picks	1	2.90	1	2.90	-	-	-	-
Shovels	1	3.20	1	2.40	1	2.40	-	-
Spades	-	-	3	6.15	1	2.05	2	2.40
Forks	-	-	1	2.92	1	1.70	-	-
Rakes	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.85
Hoes	-	-	1	1.25	-	-	-	-
Adze	1	2.35	1	2.35	-	-	1	1.50
Saws	2	7.45	-	-	1	2.40	1	4.50
Hammers	1	1.65	1	1.65	1	0.80	2	2.05
Pinch bars	1	1.50	-	-	-	-	-	-
Planes	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	8.75
Levels	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	7.20
Shears	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.85
Rulers	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.80
Total tools		30.90		28.87		23.35		36.30
Equipment								
Shotguns	1	56.00	1	56.00	1	56.00	1	43.00
Coffee hullers	1	28.00	2	50.00	-	-	-	-
Coffee pulpers	1	64.00	1	58.00	-	-	-	-
Coffee grinders	1	4.15	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pulping troughs	-	-	3	6.00	-	-	-	-
Rice hullers	1	31.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knapsack sprays	1	26.50	-	-	-	-	-	-
Counter scales	1	3.50	1	6.00	-	-	1	3.00
Produce scales	1	8.50	1	12.00	-	-	-	-
Water hoses	-	-	1	4.72	-	-	-	-
Buckets	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.70
Iron	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	9.00
Sewing machine	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	192.00
Total equipment		221.65		192.72		56.00		250.70
Total tools and equipment		252.55		221.59		79.35		287.00

* These were retail replacement values in Popondetta stores at the time the inventories were made.

balance in December 1965 being close to $300. The value of savings certificates averaged $10, shares in Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Society and Gona Co-operative Society $10, shares in Oro Ltd $85 and cash in hand $42, giving an average total of all liquid assets of $447.[1] In both cash and other liquid assets A, B and C were much better off than D, though D's consumption level appeared to be very much higher because of his government development loan.

A, C and D have no traditional valuables (hambo and di) though in each case their brothers do have. B had $87 worth in May 1963.[2] The averages for Inonda and Sivepe villages, by comparison, were $18 and $11 per man. Whereas Inonda people acquired most of their valuables by inheritance or in traditional exchanges, B acquired almost all of his for cash.[3] In his young days he bought some when visiting distant places but most of them have been acquired when people appeal to him at tax collection time (tax is $4 per year) or when they need cash for other urgent necessities. The visitor presents him with a valuable and asks for 'help' in the form of its cash value. Most persons requesting this help have been distant maternal kin, but some are friends with whom he had trading or work connections in earlier years. The fact that none come from his own village is said to be because neighbours or close relatives would be ashamed to ask for money in this way. The other three entrepreneurs say they decline requests of this kind.

Income

An attempt to assess annual expenditure was abandoned. It is difficult enough to assess income which comes in relatively large amounts from limited sources and at long intervals and for which some records are available as a check. Expenditure, on the other hand, is in much smaller amounts, for a much wider range of commodities and for which almost no documentary evidence is available.

An assessment of income is given in Table 4.

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[1] Cash savings of Inonda and Sivepe village householders, on the other hand, averaged $24 and $21 respectively.

[2] For method of valuing hambo and di, see Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:97.

[3] We have heard of recent examples of sale within villages elsewhere in the Orokaiva area.

Table 4

Estimated annual income of entrepreneurs ($)*
(excluding interest on savings)

	A (1965)	B (1963)	C (Average 1963-65)	D (1965)	Household average Inconda and Sivepa** (1962-63)
Sales: coffee	320	286	-	-	3
cocoa	175	***	***	50	-
copra	-	-	244	-	-
rubber	-	-	-	-	2
vegetable	-	16	-	20)	4
hunted meat	-	64	-	-)	
Gross store profits#	91	50	199	42	-
Compensation##	-	35	-	-	6
Government loan###	-	-	-	140	-
Paid labour	-	-	-	-	23
Gifts, etc.	-	-	-	-	11
	586	451	443	252	49

* In many cases these figures are estimates only.
** Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:53, and Rimoldi 1966:78.
*** Not yet bearing
# Assessed at 10 per cent of turnover.
Paid by government for coffee trees cut to widen road.
Under a government resettlement scheme.

Table 5

Estimated value of assets in 1965 ($)*
(not including land, domestic houses or cash savings)

	A	B	C	D	Total	Average	Village householders**
Coffee, cocoa and coconut trees***	3,440	1,320	400	1,740	6,900	1,725	60 (est.)
Buildings#	500	80	100	-	680	170	-
Tools and equipment	252	221	79	287	839	210	15
Consumers durables	240	55	75	132	502	125	10 (est.)
Livestock##	-	-	-	26	26	6	24
Traditional valuables	-	87	-	-	87	22	14
	4,432	1,763	654	2,185	9,034	2,258	123

[128] * This table is based on a series of assumptions, many of indeterminable accuracy. It should therefore be regarded as indicative of trends rather than as a precise record.

** For Inconda and Sivepa householders from Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b and Rimoldi 1966. The averages per householder for each village have been added and divided by two.

[128] *** Based on valuations for the entrepreneurs kindly supplied by the Chief Valuer, Lands Department (Mr D.D. Balfour-Ogilvy). Value for the village trees was estimated by the writer, on similar criteria.

Including only those buildings used in production (a cocoa fermentary, coffee drying trays and store, and a copra drier respectively). Domestic houses were in all cases built mainly of local materials.

Pigs assessed at $10, fowls at $2 each.

Work patterns

Records of time spent in various tasks was kept by A for ten weeks, and by B and C for twenty weeks.[1] The results are summarised in Table 6. Records were also maintained for their families and these plus those for the entrepreneurs themselves are summarised in Table 7.

These tables show some marked differences between the work patterns of the entrepreneurs and those of villagers. The entrepreneurs spend less time on subsistence gardening than the villagers spend (5.7 as against 11.5 hours respectively), much less time in wage employment than villagers (nil as against 6.9), more than twenty times more in cash-cropping and trading (19.5 compared with 0.7), only a fraction of the time acquitting traditional social obligations (1.0 as against 8.7) but considerably more in community activities as officers of co-operatives, local government, church bodies and other public agencies (7.6 as against 0.5). The same trends are apparent, though not so marked in degree, where the entrepreneurs' families are included (Table 7).

Time spent on social obligations is kept to a bare minimum. This is facilitated to some extent by the fact that all the entrepreneurs live out of sight of the village houses. Non-conformity would be more difficult if they were living right in the village. During the twenty weeks' survey of B's family, for example, they took only one day off for each of two deaths in the village. Had they lived in the village they would have been involved for many days. In another instance which occurred before this study began, a classificatory brother of B's wife died in Inonda, just over the river from where he was living on his coffee block. After two days' brief formal participation in the mourning he removed to his Hohota house and worked on his cocoa there. Two days after the three weeks' mourning period at Inonda finished he returned to live at the coffee block. Had he remained at the coffee block during the mourning he could hardly have continued to work full-time on his cash crops. The Inonda villagers, by contrast, left cash-cropping entirely during this period.

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[1] The periods recorded were: A and his family ten weeks from 14 June to 23 August 1963; for B, twenty weeks from 1 September 1962 to 18 January 1963 and for C, five and a half weeks from 22 December 1965 to 29 January 1966. No records were made of D's work patterns. Watches and forms for recording work patterns were issued to A's eldest son, B's son and to C. For the first week either the writer, Mr Hogbin or Mr Burau lived with the people maintaining the records, but the period of our residence is not included above. One of us or Mr Eupu made visits to collect the records and discuss problems every few days.

Table 6

Average hours spent per week in various tasks - men only
(not including domestic and leisure)

	Entrepreneurs				Villagers		
	A	B	C	Average	Inonda*	Sivepe**	Average
Traditional production							
Subsistence	2.8	7.3	7.0	5.7	9.6	13.5	11.5
Hunting, fishing, foraging	0.3	4.7	3.1	2.7	4.3	1.3	2.8
Building	-	1.2	4.0***	1.7	0.1	2.7	1.4
	3.1	13.2	14.1	10.1	14.0	17.5	15.7
Production for cash							
Paid work	-	-	-	-	11.3	2.6	6.9
Cash-cropping and store	25.1	19.3	14.0	19.5	0.7	0.8	0.7
	25.1	19.3	14.0	19.5	12.0	3.4	7.7
Non-economic activity (other than domestic and leisure)							
Social obligations	0.3	0.7	2.0	1.0	12.5	4.9	8.7
Travel	-	3.7	1.0	1.6	2.8	4.1	3.4
Sickness	1.7	1.4	5.0	2.7	2.6	1.0	1.8
Council, etc.	0.5	10.7	-	3.7	0.6	0.4	0.5
Church	-	3.2	8.5	3.9			
	2.5	19.7	16.5	12.9	18.5	10.4	14.4
Total	30.7	52.2	44.6	42.5	44.5	31.3	37.9

* From Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:63.
** From Rimoldi 1966:28.
*** C built a new house during this period.

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Table 7

Average hours spent per week in various tasks - all adults
(not including domestic and leisure)

	Entrepreneurs and families*				Villagers		
	A	B	C	Average	Inonda	Sivepe	Average
Traditional production							
Subsistence**	9.0	13.0	8.3	10.1	11.7	14.4	13.1
Hunting, fishing, foraging	1.6	5.0	1.6	2.7	2.8	1.2	2.0
Building	0.4	0.9	1.3	0.9	0.1	1.6	0.8
	11.0	18.9	11.2	13.7	14.6	17.2	15.9
Production for cash							
Paid work	-	-	3.6	1.2	5.7	1.3	3.5
Cash-cropping	9.7	21.9	4.5	12.0	0.8	0.5	0.6
	9.7	21.9	8.1	13.2	6.5	1.8	4.1
Non-economic activity (other than domestic and leisure)							
Social obligations	2.6	0.7	1.0	1.4	16.2	4.4	10.3
Travel	0.7	3.3	0.3	1.4	2.9	3.3	3.1
Sickness	4.0	1.1	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.5	2.7
Council work, etc.	1.4	4.1	-	1.9	) 0.3	0.9	0.6
Church	3.2	3.0	3.6	3.3	)		
	11.9	12.2	7.7	10.6	22.3	11.1	16.7
Total	32.6	53.0	27.0	37.5	43.4	30.1	36.7

* For A this included his two resident sons and their wives, two brothers and their wives. For B it included his wife and his brother and for C his wife and his adolescent daughter.

** B and his family averaged 17 hours weekly on food gardening, but 4 hours of this has been transferred to cash-cropping as he markets surplus vegetables in Popondetta. Most of the food gardening is done by his wife (26.8 hours weekly) and brother (16.9 hours).

156 472 554 [614] [794] [631]

Community leadership

Three of the four entrepreneurs are eldest sons and two of them are heads of sub-clans. The third expects to be when the present holder, his father's younger brother, dies. All four have or had elective status in the community, in religious, political or economic institutions. Three of the four are or have been church councillors,[1] two have been local government councillors,[2] and three directors of the Orokaiva Coffee Growers' Co-operative. The extensive time these men give to community leadership (an average of 7.6 hours weekly) contrasts strongly with that of Inonda and Sivepe villagers (0.5 hours).

While the others seem to have been willing to accept leadership roles among villagers, D has declined nomination as a councillor and several other roles and has less contact with village society. This is perhaps due to his being a stranger to this area.

A, B and C claim to have gone to considerable trouble to encourage the people of surrounding villages to engage in cash-cropping. In B's case at least there is clear evidence that this is so. Apart from active encouragement, their enterprises could be expected to have had significant demonstration effects. The fact that villages adjacent to those of the two longest established entrepreneurs, A and B, have a higher number of trees per man than other villages in the census division supports this suggestion.

Demonstration effects, however, appear to be less in the entrepreneur's own village, where he is in all cases envied and resented by many. My impression from living among the Orokaiva is that the prestige of the entrepreneurs increases as one gets further away in a radius of five miles or so (perhaps ten in the case of B) and decreases again thereafter. A and B in particular often accommodate strangers on long journeys on foot, and B has for many years had a special house which is available to any foot traveller. Distant villagers, returning labourers, children going to and from boarding school and others from up to fifty miles away stay overnight at B's house. No charge is made, no gift expected or usually given. In fact B, who is widely acclaimed for his hospitality to strangers, usually supplies them with vegetable foods. [514]

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[1] Elected annually, usually one per village. A retired in favour of his eldest son and B retired when the refugees from the Mount Lamington villages (who had elected him) left their temporary settlement near B's coffee plot. He was asked by the village to be their church councillor but declined as he lived outside the village and the role of councillor ideally requires constant attendance in the village.

[2] Elected triennially. Each represents several villages. A retired owing to age. B was defeated.

472 554 156 It is thus understandable that though the entrepreneurs are often not acceptable in leadership roles in their own villages, they are acceptable in elective roles where the selection lies with a wider community. It is likely that the stimulus they give to economic change among the Orokaiva is considerable. When they achieve their goal of owning motor transport, which gives tremendous prestige, many will consider that their 'way' has been substantiated and the impact of their example will be multiplied.

Summary

472 156 Data are presented on the four rural entrepreneurs among the Orokaiva. Because the sample is so small few generalisations can be made. All had travelled much more widely than the average villager, had been in paid employment for longer and had held posts of greater skill and responsibility than the average villager. Whereas most Orokaiva people established their gardens on their traditional lands, the entrepreneurs have deliberately not done so. The three who had developed their enterprises without financial help were all eldest sons who benefited from the labour of junior relatives. All have attempted to employ permanent labour, but none has succeeded.

472 156 461 There were marked differences between the work patterns of the entrepreneurs and those of villagers. The entrepreneurs spent less time than villagers did on subsistence gardening, but twenty times more in cash-cropping and trading; they spent much less time on traditional social obligations and much more on community leadership.

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Twelve Orokaiva traders

W.J. Oostermeyer
and
Joanne Gray

Introduction

443 This is a study of twelve Orokaiva entrepreneurs who have
121 engaged in retail trading with varying degrees of success.[1] With only two exceptions, each owns a cash crop also. All except one are accessible by road from Popondetta. Although the sample is reasonably representative of Orokaiva entrepreneurs, quite different patterns may emerge among the few more isolated Orokaiva entrepreneurs or among the non-Orokaiva entrepreneurs in other parts of the district.

121 Each subject will be signified by an alphabetic letter according
128 to the relative success of his store. The names of subjects can be made available for the purposes of further research.

Information on two subject, I and K, is incomplete and possibly inaccurate in some details. Both were away from home at the time, and the questions were answered by close relatives.

124 Language was a limiting factor. English was used with those who had an adequate command of it, but in a number of cases it was necessary to use an interpreter. Some meaning is always lost when communicating through an intermediary, and some entrepreneurs were reluctant to discuss some personal details with an interpreter. The evidence of this report is not substantial enough to permit definite conclusions, and those proffered must be regarded as tentative.

444 Group I comprises four traders who were not operating their
463 stores at the time of the survey. Group II comprises another four whose stores had an average monthly turnover of less than $50.00.
472 Group III comprises those with a turnover in excess of $50 a month.

[101] [1] The data in this paper were collected by W. Oostermeyer between December 1965 and February 1966. The material was written up by Mrs Joanne Gray.

444 Each trader in group I still holds a current trading licence and intends to re-open his store at some future date. A closed his store after only two months of operation, because his duties as a local government councillor were too time-consuming. He intended to resign before the next election in June 1966 and re-open his store.

444 472 452 B started his store in 1961 with the relatively large capital of $478, of which $300 was his own money, and the remainder his younger brother's. The store was built some distance from his house, but when $240 was stolen from the store in 1962, the two brothers built a new store adjacent to B's house. It was closed in June 1964. Credit had been given too freely and $157.48 was still outstanding late in 1965, and a European stated that B had [474] been selling goods well below cost price. Competition from a [477] local co-operative store which B helped to establish (and with which he is still closely associated) reduced his turnover. B bought his stocks on credit from Oro Ltd, and built up a large debt until further credit was refused. B still owes $220 to Oro Ltd, and due to insufficient understanding of the system, feels that he has been deceived.

Subjects C and D were awaiting the proceeds of their next cash crop sale with which to restock their stores.

444 The stores owned by group II traders have so far been only moderately successful. With the exception of G, who opened his store only six months ago, they have operated their stores for at least nineteen months. E has only recently re-opened his store, after it had been closed for four months.

[426] Group III. Trader I started his store with $200 which was lent him by his younger brother-in-law, who is a clerk with a commercial firm at Lae. The brother-in-law pays all store bills, and I had repaid him $104.

[451] J's trade store was managed by his elder brother, who could neither read nor write and did not keep any store books.

444 474 [499] K started his store with $390, helped by his younger brother who works in Port Moresby. K runs the store on a quasi co-operative basis, with forty-two shareholders belonging to his own and another clan. His brother contributed $200 to the initial cost, and the value of the other shares varied between 50 cents and $10. All are ultimately to be $10. Most of the store's turnover comes from other villages and the people of K's village are at present building a road to attract more people to the store.

444 L began her store with $206; when she is away, it is managed by her father.

Background experience

463 472 871 Education. Although the most successful group of entrepreneurs had all had considerable education (more than three times the average of the other two groups combined), the least successful group had had more schooling than the middle group. This is shown in the following table in which an index of education was ascribed to each person by multiplying years of schooling by standard reached.

Table 1

Index of education

A	20	E	0	I	56
B	63	F	9	J	30
C	15	G	0	K	45
D	9	H	6	L	56
Average	26.7		3.75		46.7

463 472 484 Travel. There may be a positive correlation between travel experience and trading success. All the entrepreneurs had travelled beyond their own district and, as shown on Table 2, the most successful entrepreneurs had travelled more widely than the least successful.

Table 2

Relationship between travel experience and entrepreneurial success

Travel experience	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Northern and adjacent districts (Morobe and Milne Bay)	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'	'
More distant districts	'			'			'	'		'	'	'
Australia												'

463 472 464 Paid work. The number of years spent in paid employment correlates negatively with the entrepreneurial success of the sample, as under:

Table 3

Years of paid work

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A	15	E	10	I	1
B	8	F	5	J	8
C	8	G	7	K	3
D	14	H	13	L	4
Average	11.25		8.75		4

[554] When level of responsibility and status is considered, however, the position reverses: those who are most successful have held jobs requiring most responsibility.[1]

Table 4

Level of job responsibility

	A	2	E	2	I 1
	B	2	F	2	J 3
	C	3	G	3	K 1
	D	2	H	1	L 1
Average	75% at level 2		50% at level 2		75% at level 1

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Social relations

Age. Average age is lowest for the most successful group but this is likely to be related to the fact that educational services were even fewer before and during the second world war than they have been since.

Table 5

Age

A	34	E	50	I	40
B	30	F	46	J	26
C	37	G	26	K	29
D	40	H	45	L	21
Average	35.25		41.75		29

[1] Level of responsibility was categorised as follows: (1) policeman, cook (pre-war), welfare assistant, medical orderly; (2) interpreter, labour recruiter, foreman; (3) storeman, clerical assistant, domestic (post-war), gardener, hunter, labourer.

463 Seniority of birth. This seemed to be of positive significance
472 for entrepreneurs who based their operations on cash-cropping (Crocombe 1967:5). It may possibly be of negative significance for traders. Three of the four first-born sons fall into the least successful category and the fourth into the middle category.

[462] Sex. All those in the sample are men with the exception of L, who is the most successful of all. Her elder brothers were killed in the Mt Lamington eruption and she says she is regarded by her father as a son in many respects.

[614] Traditional leadership roles. The only position of traditional
[571] leadership recognised today is that of sub-clan head. Only one of the entrepreneurs in the sample (E) was a sub-clan head, one was the son of a sub-clan head and in other cases the relationship was more distant. As most sub-clans contain only about two to ten men, sub-clan leadership seems clearly to give no advantage in trading. It may possibly be an inhibiting factor but we have no evidence on this point.

463 Non-traditional leadership roles. It is to be expected that
472 Orokaiva entrepreneurs will hold responsible and respected posi-
571 tions in their community. The table below shows a positive
621 correlation between entrepreneurial activity and elective community leadership roles. Seven of the twelve subjects hold such leadership roles. A local government councillor represents over 200 people (and one is president of a council serving about 10,000 people). The co-operative chairmen are elected by some hundreds of people and a church councillor represents about a hundred people.

Table 6

Elected positions of responsibility in the community

Elected position of responsibility	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J*	K	L
Local government councillor	'	'			'		'		'			'
Church councillor					'	'						
Chairman of Co-operative					'		'					
President of Women's Club												'
Total	1	1	-	-	3	1	2	-	1	-	-	2

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

Subject E, the only clan head in the sample, holds important elective posts as local government councillor, church president, and chairman of a co-operative society. He had also previously held paid positions carrying responsibility and authority and requiring initiative.

463 An examination of whether elective positions of responsibility
472 were held before or after entrepreneurial activities commenced
571 suggests that persons with leadership qualities already recognised
621 by the community are more likely to engage in such activities.

Table 7

Time relation between entrepreneurial activity and elected position

Time elected	A	B	E	F	G	I	J	L
Before trade store opened	'	'	'	?	'	?		'
After trade store opened							'*	

* J has been invited to become chairman of the local co-operative store which he helped to establish.

The holding of an elective position of responsibility concomitantly with carrying on entrepreneurial activities is not necessarily an advantage to the entrepreneur. Several of the subjects had found that their community duties were time-consuming and interfered with their trading activities.

463 Household composition. It is impossible to say whether a large
472 household tends to inhibit trading success but the data suggest that
it may.

592 Group I subjects averaged 6.5 persons per household, group II, 5.75 persons and group III, 5.25 persons.

Many entrepreneurs complained that relatives, particularly older ones, took food and other items from the stores without payment but we have no measured data on this point.

Table 8

Size of household

A	8	E	5	I	10
B	3	F	4	J	3
C	10	G	5	K	6
D	5	H	9	L	2
Average	6.5		5.75		5.25

463 Residence in or out of village. In traditional Orokaiva society
472 members of a village or clan were bound together by a complex system
602 of kinship ties and obligations (Williams 1930:335). Subsistence
derives from the land and social security from the fulfilment of
[366] obligatory ties which bring reciprocal returns in times of sickness,

463 old age or other need. The system was not geared toward capital
472 accumulation, nor was the bulk of material reward retained by the
602 man who made the effort. To achieve maximum economic efficiency a
366 modern entrepreneur must disengage himself to some extent from his kinship obligations. As Table 9 shows, a number of the entrepreneurs studied have physically removed themselves from the village to live near their cash crops, or have built close to, but outside, their villages. Thus while the vast majority of Orokaiva people live within a village, most entrepreneurs among them do not, and all the most successful live outside their home villages.[1] Independence, however, may place the entrepreneur in a vulnerable position. He has reduced access to the security provided by traditional ties, reciprocal obligations and religious rites within the village community, and there are at present no alternative provisions for social security.

Table 9 suggests that there may possibly be advantages in trading away from one's own village and where one is not dependent on one's villagers as customers. All three traders within their own village have had little or no success, and all the most successful groups are outside or away from their home village.

Table 9

Location of store

Location	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H*	I	J	K	L
Away from own village (i.e. own villagers not usual customers)	'			'				'	'			'
Close to but outside own village		'					'			'	'	
Within own village			'		'	'						

* H's village is to be shifted to the present location of his trade store. He resides within his own village.

[166] Half of the least successful traders were still living in the village of their birth, whereas 75 per cent of the traders in both groups II and III were not living in the village in which they were born.

463 Of the sixty-seven indigenes in the Northern District holding
472 trading licences, twenty-three are shown in the government records
366

[1] Likewise all four entrepreneurs studied by Crocombe (1967:5) lived outside their villages.

463 to be trading within their own village and twenty-six outside their
472 village.[1] In eighteen cases store location is not specified. The
366 only indication of success provided by the licence is the period of operation for each store. This index is not wholly reliable, because a store licence is sometimes renewed when the store is no longer in operation but is intended to be re-opened.[2]

Table 10

Store location and years of operation of all indigenous entrepreneurs in the Northern District*

Store location	Years of operation by trading licences 1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
Within own village	3	7	11	-	-	2	23
Outside own village	3	4	8	3	4	4	26
No information on location	11	5	-	2	-	-	18
Total	17	16	19	5	4	6	67

[127] * This information was obtained from government records which are not available before 1960.

Only 9 per cent of those whose stores are located within the village have held a trading licence for more than three years, compared to a corresponding figure of 42 per cent for those who trade outside the village. This conclusion must be tentative as trading licences are an unreliable index of success, but it agrees with the evidence of the present study and with the data of Crocombe (1967:21). Both tables suggest that trading within one's own village may have an inhibiting effect on individual commercial activity.

463 Labour. The Orokaiva commonly enlist the help of relatives to
472 establish and maintain cash crops. These relatives are rarely
476 regarded as paid labourers, and are compensated with random gifts of cash, store goods, an undefined share in the profits of the cash crop or a wide variety of services such as help in farm work, bride price, etc. Such obligations are not specific as to volume, value or time, and even when met can be used for further credit.

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[1] The number actually within the village is considerably less as those trading and living within about a mile of their village are usually recorded as being within the village.

[2] For example, subjects A, B, C and D, who have all closed down their stores, still retain current trading licences.

Even those entrepreneurs who engaged relatives were not in favour of doing so, and none hired unrelated members of the same village. The traditional complex of relationships within the village tends to undermine the authority of a local employer, and this makes it difficult for entrepreneurs to enforce their orders. Wherever possible, they hire workers whose contact with the village in which the crop or store is located is minimal. They are usually hired as short-term casual labour on cash crops and are rarely employed in the stores. The employer-employee relationship has no traditional precedent and entrepreneurs try to follow their conception of a European model.

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[177]

Table 11

No. of co-operating adult male kin

A	1	E	4	I	2
B	1	F	1	J	2
C	3	G	4	K	3
D	4	H	2	L	3
Average	2.25		2.75		2.5

Table 12

Labour engaged by entrepreneurs to help with cash crops

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Entrepreneur	Labour							
	Extended family or siblings			Non-relatives from same village	Non-relatives from difference village			
	No.	Period	Payment		No.	Period	Payment	
A	-			-	1	1 month	$3/month and food	
					1	2 months	- do -	
B	-			-	-			
C	3	occasional	50c per week	-	-			
D	4	6 months establishing	food	-	-			
E	4	occasional	food and clothing	-	4	establishment	$4 per fortnight	
F	-	previous casual help	food, etc.	-	-			
G	4	occasional	store goods, food and pigs	-	-			
H	-			-	1	1 month	$4 per month	
					1	3 months		
I	2	occasional	food and clothing	-	-			
J	1	regular	food, no cash yet	-	-			
K	2	occasional	food, etc.	-	1	occasional	$1.50 per fortnight	
L	2	short period	$2.50 per week	used to employ 3. Abandoned as unsatisfactory.	3	occasional	$2.50 per week	

463 The five subjects who had hired labourers who were not related
472 to them all paid cash wages. A and H have received $1,500 govern-
464 ment loans to develop their blocks and have thus had the capital
426 to pay for labour. They have not relied on kinship assistance at
657 all. The loan has been an effective substitute for kin ties. L derives the capital necessary to hire labour from her trade store.

It will be noted that all non-relatives are paid in cash, but
463 most relatives are paid in kind. Most entrepreneurs are still
472 dependent on the help of relatives, as they do not have the cash to pay hired labour, and are thus forced, willingly or not, to
465 exploit their kinship ties.

464 Property

602 Land and cash crops. Most of the twelve subjects did not have any records of cash crop production or sales, so it was impossible
463 to calculate their success in cash-cropping according to these two
472 criteria. For this reason their cash-cropping activity has been assessed in terms of the number of economic trees each has planted.

423 Ten of the twelve entrepreneurs have cash crops, and another has
245 cleared land for 500 coffee trees. The following table shows that the most successful entrepreneurs have the fewest cash crops. The
[426 largest cash croppers (A, D and H) have leases of government land
427 and government development loans of $1,500, but even when they are
657] omitted the proportions between the three groups remain similar.

Table 13

Commercial trees owned by each entrepreneur*

Entrepreneur	Coffee	Coconut	Cocoa	Total economic trees	Title to land	Years since cash-cropping began	Average trees
A	100	-	1,085	1,185	L	3	
B	-	-	-	-	-	-	
C	334	88	-	422	C	?	702
D	-	-	1,200	1,200	L	4	
E	1,600	11	-	1,611	C	20	
F	300	46	100	446	C	9	
G	388	52	-	440	C	7	1,800
H	-	-	4,702	4,702	L	4	
I	-	170	200	370	C	11	
J	intends to plant	-	-	-	C	-	
K	150	-	-	150	C	9	168
L	150	-	-	150	C	10	

* Coconut and other trees used for home consumption only have been excluded.

463 Trading. Almost all entrepreneurs felt that trading provided,
472 or should have provided, more reward for the effort invested than
444 cash cropping. Even those who had lost by trading wanted to return to it and C, D and E were saving their income from cash crops in order to restock their unsuccessful stores.

Table 14

Months of store's operation

A	2 (closed in Jan. 1964)	E	26	I	3
B	36 (closed in June 1964)	F	19	J	6
C	22 (closed in Sept.1965)	G	6	K	5
D	18 (closed in June 1965)	H	20	L	15
Average	19.5		17.75		7.25

The table above shows that the most successful stores are on average the most recently opened. There is a negative correlation between length of operation and trading success for each store. It may be that there is an optimum period of satisfactory functioning for stores owned by indigenes, after which custom declines. We have no evidence on this point and there are many variables on which the more successful traders differ from the less successful. Other variables, unrelated to the traders themselves, could influence the success of stores. These include the proximity of any other types of stores and the preference of some villagers for patronising co-operative stores rather than individually owned stores (see Crocombe 1967:21). The location of the store in relation to residence of the owner (see page 30), to roads and to other sources of casual custom (e.g. a plantation, a road or other construction project) is also significant. We do not, however, have measured data on these variables.

[412] Tools and equipment. All the entrepreneurs in the sample have many more tools and equipment (current replacement value averages $148.80; range $46.40 to $376.45) than ordinary villagers.[1] There is not, however, any apparent relationship between trading success and value of tools and equipment.

[1] By contrast, average current replacement value of tools and equipment per householder in three villages was $7.58 in Ongoho (Crocombe, unpublished), $18.38 for Sivepe (Rimoldi 1966:25) and $21.06 for Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:45).

A [See Category 463--Analyst]

Table 15

Replacement value of tools and equipment

A	$101.70	E	$138.05	I	$164.30
B	87.50	F	82.90	J	142.80
C	254.80	G	113.60	K	46.40
D	54.70	H	376.45	L	222.40
Average	$124.68		$177.75		$143.97

Traditional valuables. The possession of hambo (bone and shell ornaments) and di (feather headdress) may give some indication of a man's adherence to traditional values. In traditional Orokaiva society the possession of such valuables demonstrated wealth and prowess, but this function is now being taken over by money, as the relative importance of cash as the means of procuring desirable products increases, and money transactions become more frequent. Hambo and di are inherited through the father and sometimes other relatives, and they are usually distributed among the surviving sons. It is difficult to assess the traditional valuables owned by any one individual, as a man often looks after his younger brothers' shares and more than one person, both within and without the nuclear family, may have rights to the hambo and di kept in a particular household.

As shown in Table 16, subjects A to D possessed an average of $31.51 worth of traditional valuables, subjects E to H $46.16, and I to L (only one of whom has any such valuables) $7.50. H, the owner of the largest quantity of valuables, acquired them by inheritance and does few transactions with them today.

Table 16

Cash value of traditional valuables*

A	37.33	E	50.00	I	30.00
B	25.00 (assessed)	F	11.15	J	-
C	63.70	G	49.90	K	-
D	-	H	73.60	L	-
Average	31.51		46.16		7.50

* Values were calculated according to rates set out in Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:97-9. If a man held valuables jointly for himself and other kin, only his proportionate share is listed above.

Liquid assets. The three groups of entrepreneurs show a clear progression in average savings, group I averaging $37.32, group II $212.01 and group III $322.66. The details are given in Table 17.

Table 17

Entrepreneurs' liquid assets

Entrepreneur	Savings bank	Settlers Savings Club	Shares in co-operative or cash society	Cash	Total	Average for group
A	30.00	6.00			36.00	
B	5.30		60		65.30	$37.32
C	42.00				42.00	
D	6.00				6.00	
E	300.90			62.00	362.90	
F*	2.65				2.65	$212.01**
G	?				?	
H	320.00		12.50		332.50	
I	224.00		10.00		234.00	
J	?				?	$322.66**
K	536.00				536.00	
L	198.00				198.00	

* Savings were much higher but used on brother's wife's funeral and food to supplement garden produce during drought.

** Averaged for three persons only. G did not have his account book with him and said he did not remember the amount. J is said to have substantial savings but was not home when the data were collected and his brother did not know the extent of his savings.

The loans received by the entrepreneurs are shown in Table 18. As mentioned above in connection with cash-cropping, there is a negative correlation between extensive cash-cropping and success as an entrepreneur. This is further borne out by the fact that the only three entrepreneurs to receive loans of $1,500 from the Land Board have planted the most cash crops and are among the less successful entrepreneurs.

The receipt of a loan to assist in the establishment of a store seems to be correlated positively with entrepreneurial success. It must be remembered, however, that none of the most successful stores had been open for more than fifteen months.

Table 18

Loans received

A	$1,500 (land board)	E	-	I	$200	(from brother-in-law for store)
B	$178 (from younger brother for store)	F	-	J	-	
C	-	G	-	K	$390	(from brother and share money for store)
D	$1,500 (land board)	H	$1,500 (land board)	L	-	
	75%		25%		50%	

Conclusion

Analysis of the three groups with respect to variables which may be classified roughly as economic and social reveals a degree of differentiation. The data do not enable firm conclusions on whether the different variables of themselves explain the relative success of the sample in trading activities.

The most successful group had fewer economic trees than either of the less successful groups, had considerably higher liquid assets, but fewer traditional valuables. They had more tools and equipment than the traders whose stores were closed, but fewer than the traders who, in this sample, can be classed as moderately successful.

The traders with highest turnover had been in operation for considerably less time than the other two groups, and their stores were more frequently outside the owner's home village. They had received more loans to assist with their stores, and fewer loans from the Land Board than either of the other groups.

With respect to social variables the most successful traders were younger than the other groups. Directly related to their lower age was their higher level of education and their shorter experience of paid work. However, the positions they had held had carried more responsibility and status than those held by the less well educated, younger and less successful entrepreneurs.

They were as often elected to positions of community leadership as the least successful, though the moderately successful most often held such positions, and more often held more than one such position (an achievement never realised by the least successful traders).

Table 19

Traders as at January 1966

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	Group I	Group II	Group III
Economic variables			
Store turnover per month	-	under $50	over $50
Store outside village	75%	50%	100%
Average no. of economic trees	702	1,800	168
Traditional valuables	$31.51	$46.16	$7.50
Liquid assets	$37.32	$212.00*	$322.66*
Months of operation of store	19.5	17.75	7.25
Tools and equipment	$124.68	$177.75	$143.97
Loans received: land	50%	25%	-
store	25%	-	50%
Social variables			
Age	35.25	41.75	29
Index of education	26.7	3.75	46.7
Years of paid work	11.25	8.75	4
Non-traditional experience	16.75	10.25	11.75
Job: level 1 responsibility	-	25%	75%
level 2 responsibility	75%	50%	-
Community leadership	50%	75%	50%
More than one leadership position	-	50%	25%
No. of co-operating adult male kin	2.25	2.75	2.5
Size of present household	6.5	5.75	5.25
Eldest son	75%	25%	-
Residence village different from village of birth	50%	75%	75%

* No information on one subject in group.

The most successful traders had the smallest households, but used the help of co-operating kinsmen more than the least successful (whose present households were the largest) and less than group II (whose households were also large). The moderately successful traders depended most on the help of kinsmen, but not nearly so extensively as cash-cropping entrepreneurs previously studied (see Crocombe 1967). [592] [602]

Appendix C

Factors associated with high cash cropping activity

121 Although this study is mainly concerned with land tenure conversion, information was also collected on factors associated with high cash cropping activity which may be of interest when compared with related findings published in earlier New Guinea Research Bulletins.

249 Blockholders resident at Ombi-Tara had planted an average of
472 348 high-yielding rubber seedlings by 1 November 1965. The nine men who had planted more than the average were compared with the remainder of the Ombi-Tara population to determine whether they differed significantly in education, non-traditional experience, age, clan, religion, number of children, sources of income, responsible positions held in the village, languages spoken, cash crops planted before conversion and attitudes as revealed in answers to the questionnaire. In most of these characteristics there was a striking similarity between the nine men and the total population. However, several differences did emerge.

While there was almost no difference between the average number of years spent in paid employment by the sample and total populations, there was a significant difference related to responsibility, skills and locality of employment. The nine above average planters included six of the eight Ombi-Tara men who had been to Port Moresby and two of the three who had been to Rabaul. Jobs held in these towns tended to be of a more skilled and responsible nature than those held by other villagers. In Port Moresby two men were employed as policemen for nine and two years, one worked for two years first as a plumber's assistant and then as a labourer, and the other three each worked for twelve months as a workshop assistant (and later as a survey assistant in Popondetta for four months), an office boy, and a labourer respectively. The two men who went to Rabaul worked as painters with an oil company for eighteen months. The man who spent nine years in Port Moresby as a policeman was also employed as a domestic servant at Kokoda for twelve months, the only Ombi-Tara man to have a job of this nature.

One of the nine men is Charles[1] and another is the clan leader of the Humu clan. A third is the joint custodian with Charles of

[1] See p.11.A

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472 the Ombi-Tara village savings account, and a fourth is a man who was frequently mentioned as having had rights to very large areas of land before conversion and who appears to hold a position of high status at Ombi.

The nine men had planted more cash crops before conversion on the average than the other Ombi-Tara blockholders. They had planted an average of 321 cocoa trees (compared with an average of 108 trees for the other Ombi-Tara blockholders) and 126 coffee trees (as compared with 83). The nine men included three of the four men who had planted their own bush rubber seedlings before conversion was introduced.

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

Cargo deities are renewed for each movement; in all cases their return to earth would not only bring the wealth but also a new moral order. They would banish strife, indeed brotherhood between tribes is a condition of their return. This idea existed in the Northern Province of Papua New Guinea as early as the Taro movement of 1914 (Williams 1928). The work to be done is ritual work for which the design (*ove*) is laid down by the prophet of the cult. The form of *simbari* required here has to do with certain ritual places where the miraculous return might take place – among the Orokaiva, often graveyards. As for the cargo itself, the correct term is *hande*, i.e. generous sharing out of the treasure that has previously remained hidden from the New Guineans.

All these concepts will seem marginal until one sees their implications for everyday events. To this end, let us consider the position of money as *hande*. Most anthropologists have treated ceremonial money prestations as simply equivalent to traditional valuables. But is it really? First of all, it is common knowledge that traditional valuables are no longer acceptable as a substitute for money. This has sometimes been interpreted as a purely secular liking for money, which to a westerner seems so plausible that he does not see the need for explanation. If the money is presented as a money tree, this again can be explained away as substitution within a traditional idiom.

When I discussed savings societies, I expected to be given an explanation in terms of practical spending projects or other economic considerations but was given a political argument instead. It was to equal the power of the Europeans, so I was told. Again, a friend was presented with a dollar to be taken back with him to New Zealand. He should put it in the bank there, so he was told, and then it would multiply a thousandfold. On an apparently quite different topic, wages, I was told that the wealth created by them exceeded by far what they were given as pay.

It is for this reason that Orokaiva are exceedingly interested in 'business', both cooperative and individual. I have personally observed a copra cooperative and several trade store and truck projects, both cooperative and individual. Newton (1978), in a village close to the ones I know, describes in much detail six trade stores, four truck ventures and a cattle project, which represents a great deal of activity for one small village over a six-months period. Several of these projects were cooperative. All of them were failures. The fact that the ventures all fail does not stop people from repeating the experience year after year.

Let us now consider in detail one of the events described by

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

437 Newton. She points out that though, in general, people help each other without expecting payment in money, cash must be paid for 476 activities where the employer expects to make a profit, i.e. where he is engaged in 'business'. There was a Youth Group who offered themselves for labour contracts but nobody "hired the group to build a house – a subsistence activity". Labour was "treated as a commodity" and used only to create exchange values.

472 Now, Newton suggests this was because such money-making "was 474 seen as a corporate action and necessitated profit sharing". Thus, children were paid if they carried cash crops to market. They were, however, compensated according to age, rather than according to time and labour input. "Eldest sons and daughters received a large portion, as might senior shareholders in a family company."

Thus, people were doing exactly the same labour in the village as they were paid for outside. Outside, this labour was alienating because workers had no control over the product of their labour. In the village businesses, they did share control of the product. But, from the pay rates quoted by Newton, it is clear that the 'business' could never afford the rates allowed. Why this perpetual disproportion between the small yield and the large distribution to shareholders?

[799] The common pattern in all the data I have quoted lies in the miraculous increase of which money is thought to be capable once it has been subjected to certain ritual practices which the Orokaiva call 'business'. These are rituals which work when practised on a taro shoot – it swells, it multiplies. Ever since the taro cult, taro is the model for multiplication.

But the problem thus posed is insoluble. How, indeed, could these businesses prosper? Only by paying the workers less, by giving no credit, by ensuring that one takes more money from the brothers in the village than they ever get back. Only, in fact, by their alienation. There are so few of them; they have so little – one must be greedy indeed to survive in those villages in business. But alienation is not part of their project. They want the businesses to succeed without alienation. It is in this that they are a religious rather than economic practice.

Thus it is not from ignorance that they fail. Furthermore, it is only the White observers and social scientists who see anything tragic in these failures. If the Orokaiva thought them tragic, they [554] would stop setting them up again and again. Miss Newton rightly comments that you gain status even by, and especially by failing. Your business dies; its limbs or assets are spread among the multitude and increase exceedingly. It is a religious practice.[37]

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

appears to be the standard response to lack of time, rather than foregoing coffee.

22. On New Guinea concepts of paid labour and the yield of such labour I learned a great deal from Cloutier (1975–1978).

23. Auge's material on the rich who were inevitably suspected of being zombie masters (1975) is a good illustration of our theme. But on this same phenomenon, see also Ardener (1970).

24. For a somewhat similar analysis of suicide, this time in Polynesia, see Firth (1967, Ch. 5) on suicide and risk taking in Tikopia.

25. For a further example of 'exploitation' of the defeated see Meggitt (1977: 25–26).

26. In *Zur Genealogie der Moral*, Nietzsche (1954: 761–900) offers a detailed discussion of the principle of reciprocity, concerning which he held views rather radically opposed to those of Marcel Mauss. He regarded it as a delusion to be eradicated. Orokaiva likewise regard it as a delusion if practised outside the 'security circle' (see Schwimmer 1979a).

27. This argument, and indeed this entire essay, is close in orientation to Dumont (1977) which can be read as an attempt to set limits on economism in anthropology and elsewhere. We do not question the importance of economics but the delimitation of economics as a separate domain.

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